

RE-ORIENTATION OF THE ORIENT

By KIANG KANG-HU, LL. D.

The history of nations has often taken a strange twist. That which a country has violently opposed for a long time may suddenly be enthusiastically adopted, until a point is reached when the pendulum swings back again. Thus China, after doing her utmost to reject the influence of the West, embraced its ideas and characteristics—at least in the leading intellectual group—with great zeal; now she is again approaching the point where she feels suspicious of it, and in a number of cases the men who were once leading China toward the West are now insisting that China return to her own traditions. One of these men is Professor Kiang Kang-hu, a political thinker who represents an interesting combination of East and West. His life in itself is characteristic of an important section of modern China.

Prof. Kiang comes of an old Mandarin family and his ancestors for three generations reached the rank of "Hanlin" scholars. He received an old-style education from a private tutor in his parental home in Peking, acquiring the first two of the three famous Chinese degrees by the time he was seventeen. The third or "Hanlin" degree he never obtained, for the old examination system was then abolished. After spending a year in Japan following the Boxer Rebellion he became Assistant Professor of History at the newly founded University of Peking. He proved his enthusiasm for Western education by participating in a textbook committee and by founding the first girls' school in Peking. After a year in Europe he returned to China, and later served as Secretary in Yuan Shih-kai's Government.

From 1914 to 1920 he taught Chinese History at the University of California at Berkeley. On returning to China, he visited Europe for the second time, spending six months in Germany and a year and a half in Russia. Back in China he founded Nanyang College in Shanghai, which with its Peking branch had several thousand students. He made frequent visits to America and served for some time at the Library of Congress.

While he was lecturing in the interior of China, the Sino-Japanese conflict broke out. From the very outset it has always been his endeavor to contribute toward the termination of the hostilities. He moved to Hongkong, and on October 10 ("Double Tenth"), 1939 he agreed to co-operate with the Peace Movement of Wang Ching-wei without, however, abandoning his independent position. He is now Acting President of the Examination Yuan, and, as Minister of Personnel, a member of the Nanking Government. He also edits the monthly magazine 民意, "People's Opinion."—K.M.

RE-ORIENTATION

Ten years ago, when I was teaching in America, I created the expression "re-orientation." Literally it would mean "re-alignment in a certain course or direction"; its real content, however, is the following. During the last fifteen years or so China has imitated the Occident, with the result that she deviated farther and farther from her old path. Today this aberration has

luckily not yet progressed too far. But, as man in his misfortune remembers his origin, we feel an urgent necessity to decide for a new direction, to return to our predestined places in the world, to restore the past splendor of our history. China is the country that represents the culture of the Far East. "Orientation" has the basical meaning of "east," and as the four points of the compass were fixed in antiquity according to the sunrise, the east

formed the chief of the four directions and hence the decisive point of direction. The syllable "re" at the beginning of the word includes all the meanings of "return," "renewal," "again," or "anew." As a whole it is a new term which is intended to offer China a compass for her reconstruction and further progress.

I well recall the reproach and antagonism I had to put up with as long as twenty years ago, when I advanced the idea of China's resurrection on the basis of her own culture. My opponents had no other objection than that turning back to tradition could only mean driving in reverse, hence retrogression instead of progress. I have always freely maintained that restoration could very well also be at the same time reformation, and this can be proved by examples from Eastern and Western history. Was not the Japanese reform of the Meiji era intrinsically a restoration of the imperial power? And think of that brilliant ray of light called "Renaissance" which lit up the darkness of the Middle Ages in Europe. In both cases "Return to the Old" was the slogan, while the actual result was a renewal.

CHINA'S EFFORTS TO APE THE WEST

During the last few decades an unspeakable chaos has ruled in China. How did this come about? In 1910 and 1911, the last years of the reign of Emperor Kuang-hsü, the troops of the Allied Powers infested the interior of China, the diplomatic and military situation was hopeless, and government and the country's economics seemed to be at an end. At that time there arose a movement for a constitutional monarchy and the countries taken for a model were England and Japan. However, the constitutional monarchy was never created. The revolution broke out, and the democratic and republican movement prevailed, which regarded France and the United States as the ideal states. The revolution, although outwardly completed, continued. Offi-

cial and the military were still irresponsible and corrupt. They were one of the causes of the rising communist movement. Now Russia became the country to be imitated. However, the cruel activities of the Chinese Communists and the nefarious plans of the Third International disconcerted even the friends of Russia and in the end made them the opponents of the Russians, while those who had at first tolerated communism turned against it and sought to destroy it. With that the Fascist movement came into existence, and the countries now taken as a pattern were Italy and Germany.

Let us consider. In England and Japan the monarchic constitution was successful, in China it failed. Democracy could prevail in France and America, in China it foundered. Communism conquered Russia, in China it proved a failure. In Italy and Germany, Fascism and National-Socialism are successful, while they did not succeed in China. How can one deny that the dissimilarity in history, country, and people is the reason that transfer of a political form to another country does not necessarily lead to true success?

China has tried practically all the different forms of government of all leading powers in the world. Why was the government experience of its own country the one to be forgotten, and why was there no inclination to consider it? After all, four thousand years ago, long before such countries as England, Japan, France, America, Russia, Italy, and Germany had any political significance, China had its own laws and its own civilization. If we now believe, after a fruitless study of other countries, that there is no other way, that we must give up all hope and that we must await the end with our hands tied—is that not a surrender of our very selves, does it not indicate a nature of slaves?

Since European customs have gradually penetrated the East with the inception of maritime traffic, the original blind hate of foreigners in China

has changed to a spineless servility towards them. We have forgotten our ancestors over our great business activity, and for every two steps we have learnt we have forgotten one. The slave attitude intensified, and our own qualities have continued to decay. Woe betide us if we do not realize this now. The streams of Far Eastern culture flow from different sources, yet China supplies the largest part. The ideas contained in China's culture are manifold, yet the teachings of Confucius and Lao-tse may be considered the pivot of our philosophy. The specifically Chinese culture is the basis in relation to which one should regard the domestic and foreign policies, the economic and military questions, the religions and customs of all other countries. It should not be so that the guest becomes the master, that the breath of the Occident is looked up to with awe, and that we mechanically repeat the worn-out slogans of Europe or America.

WESTERN IDEAS: COMMUNISM

I shall deal especially with two ideologies brought to China from the West, Marxism and communism on one hand and democracy on the other.

Socialism is a central idea in the flood of present-day concepts. From the left and from the right everything is carried along by the stream and everything is being shifted in relation to this dominant force. As, however, at the same time capitalism is spreading ever further, and technical civilization is making ever greater progress, the agitated condition of society becomes more and more apparent, the misery of the struggling lower classes more acute. There is, therefore, no possibility of reconstruction without a basic renewal of the social order. Communist disorders and the increase in the number of Reds are the most striking phenomena. Although I most decidedly object to the dishonest, secretive, illegal, and inhuman methods of the Communist Party, so devoted to the Third International, I still believe

that the defense against communism and the resistance against the Reds should not be carried out exclusively by force of arms or by suppressive government measures. Instead, on the one hand a socialism of clemency should be encouraged which would attract the intelligentsia, while on the other hand a reformation of the rotten social structure should be carried out to save the labor classes. A modern capitalist socialism or, rather, socialist capitalism with new, intelligent basic principles and just in all its measures, should be propagated with the greatest possible effort. At the same time darkness should be everywhere uncovered; misery among the people should be tracked down by questioning, the hidden distress of the oppressed and exploited made known; the laments and cries of pain should be listened to; and the attention of the rich and spoiled should be awakened.

BAYONETS ARE NOT ENOUGH

Military measures against the Communists are not sufficient. If one considers the results achieved by Chiang Kai-shek in the last few years in his attempts to eradicate the Communist bands, and the present level of communism in the Eighth Army and the new Fourth Army in the occupied areas, it becomes obvious that military measures are not only insufficient but have actually encouraged the spread of communism. This proves that political measures are more important than purely military ones. For the Communists, too, have their own political theory and organization, the smooth, well-knit functioning of which, just as much as their simple precepts and instructions, continue to aid in winning the support and applause of the duped population. From this it follows that greater importance is attached to economic rather than to political questions. However, the anti-Communists in the China of today are hardly in a position to form plans for a basic reorganization of society or to see their realization. China and Japan are still suffering from the disadvantages

of the capitalistic system, whose inadequate programs for social improvement are scarcely worth serious consideration. This amounts to the question of the idealistic side having to be given more emphasis than the economic side. It is my opinion that in the spiritual resistance against communism there are two main weapons which should be similarly taken up by China and Japan.

TWO ANSWERS TO COMMUNISM

(1) *Eastern Culture.* China and Japan can look back upon four to five thousand years of magnificent history, with a civilization created by our ancestors which corresponds to the nature of both countries in every respect. From ancient times up to today there has been only growth and no abatement, only change and no rupture. During the last hundred years European customs gradually penetrated the East, bending the will of the people and enticing them to imitation. We lost sight of our old path and invited ruin, which was nothing but the punishment we deserved for having doubted ourselves. The only way of salvation is to be found in the re-strengthening of our self-confidence and in devoting ourselves to our own culture. If the primeval spirit endures unshaken, foreign elements will not be able to penetrate and corrupt. Fortunately there exists wide conformity in the foundations of Chinese and Japanese culture. It is to be found in that which forms the actual backbone of these cultures: Buddhist philosophy, the Taoist teaching of the self-perfection of the individual, and the Confucian concepts of human relations, morals, government, and state philosophy. The ousting of the imported teachings of utilitarianism and materialism constitutes the most important step in the mutual spiritual struggle of both nations against communism.

eo-Socialism. The word "socialism" today is still a sort of bogey for China and Japan. In my opinion, socialism is nothing but a socialized

capitalism, somewhat further developed, it is true, than actual capitalism, yet by no means its absolute opposite. The neo-socialism I recommend is, therefore, neither that of Marx or Engels, nor that of Kautsky or even Lenin or Stalin. I would define it as follows:

- a. Communal control of capital: that is, every profit-making concern is to be completely controlled by the community. In this sense everyone becomes a capitalist.
- b. Payment for work: that is, everyone is to receive a proportionate wage for his mental or physical work. In this sense everyone becomes a worker. By these means class contrasts would no longer exist, and class struggle as well as exploitation would be impossible.
- c. Universal provision of education and food: that is, in education a maximum is to be reached, in food a minimum to be guaranteed.

The state in turn assumes the responsibility towards the people of reaching everyone and leaving no one uncared for. This will ensure physical and mental nourishment for all. When the same possibilities are open to all, and the existing differences are solely the result of inequality of natural talent and industry, it will no longer be necessary to blame either heaven or humanity.

With this new teaching and new order, the possibility is offered of a basic change in the national economy of both countries. With this change, prosperity will enter the lives of both nations, production will increase, a spiritual impetus and a greater capacity for work are to be expected, while there will be no more ground for Red agitation. This is the second great step in the spiritual struggle of both countries against communism.

These two measures, one old and one new, one conservative and one progressive, do not in any way oppose

each other but are actually complementary. For Eastern culture has always contained the social idea that the people within the four oceans are one family and that this family is sufficient to itself, according to Confucius' words concerning universal harmony.

WESTERN IDEAS: PARLIAMENTARISM

The nineteenth century can be regarded as the Golden Age of Democracy. Its beginnings reach far back into the eighteenth century, and its prestige has not yet been fully extinguished in the twentieth century. The word "democracy" sounds very new, yet there were political systems and manifestations of a similar spirit in Chinese antiquity, as well as in ancient Greece and Rome. The democracy of the nineteenth century, however, has its peculiarities which distinguish it from the past: elections, people's representatives, and parliaments—the institutions of so-called indirect government participation, which enable states of any size and population to realize the democratic idea.

As for the results, the defects can be counted in hundreds. The measure of indirectness goes so far that elector and electee, representative and represented, not only have no contact with each other but even oppose each other. It gradually evolves that a minority gains a disproportionate influence and the majority is neglected, or that a minority snatches the leadership and the majority follows blindly. Soon the political machinery ceases to function, the capacity for work sinks, the organization of the government is loosened, and corruption enters. Then the democratic system becomes unfit to carry on and the democratic spirit is totally lost. In view of the fact that the name is retained while the spirit is lost, that the advantages are small while the defects are great, and that these manifestations rival each other in bringing shame upon democracy, I believe I have good reason to discuss them here.

It has already long been the case that democracy has shown obvious symptoms of disintegration with every unusual shock, and that its appearance is no longer that of before.

THE ANSWER TO PARLIAMENTARISM'S FAILINGS: THE ELITE

What I really oppose is not the spirit but the system of democracy. The spirit of democracy is fully expressed by the words of the *Shu-king*: "The people are the basis of the state." None of the Chinese political philosophers, Confucius, Mencius, Lao-tzu, Chuang-tzu, Kuan-tzu, Mo-tzu, be they representatives of the *Ju*, *Tao*, *Fo-chia*, or any other school, has ever thought differently. There is not room enough here to quote all their utterances on this subject.

No matter whether monarchy or democracy, dictatorship or constitutional government, at all times, both in and outside of China, in all wisely led states blessed with long periods of peace the main attention has always been focused upon the people. The governments shared happiness and suffering with the people, by whom they were respected, and enjoyed peace in common with them.

The term "democracy" originally served to distinguish between a government of the majority and the rule of a minority, to which latter belong absolutism and aristocratic rule. The slogans introduced by Lincoln such as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," show the true course of democracy. In reality, however, they are quite impracticable. In every form of government those who are led are the masses, and the leaders are the minority. Government by the entire people—that is an empty phrase. Those leaders rising from the majority, be they aristocrats or laborers, plutocrats or tramps, politicians or party leaders, clergymen, civilians, or officers—they always form a minority. If we were to pick out the most useful among the different forms of government in which minor-

ities lead, we would choose aristocracy. It is this form of government which corresponds to the way of the "inwardly holy" and "outwardly ruling," called *chün-tzu* (君子) or *shih* (師) (noble person, or teacher, master) in Far Eastern political philosophy of all schools.

In Lao-tzu we find the words: "The saint makes the heart of the people his own heart." It corresponds to this if the governing minority takes the wishes of the governed majority as their rule of conduct. I therefore think that an improvement may be added to Lincoln's slogans, which I should like to formulate as follows.

Government is based upon the entire people and is carried out by a minority which has emerged from its midst. It strives for the welfare of the greatest possible number. It only remains to clarify the nature of this minority. I should like to suggest the term "elite" for it and call its form of government a "government by the elite."

HOW TO FIND THE ELITE

The elite is composed of the most prominent men of the nation. They must fulfill three conditions with regard to their ability: have an adequate degree of education, pass a state examination, and be elected by an occupational group. From time immemorial, scholars and officials have had to go through these three tests—school, examination, election. Since the time of the Three Dynasties, school and election (or appointment) were alternately in fashion. After the T'ang and Sung periods, examinations came into the foreground. Today all three are applied equally. Everyone wishing to be counted among the elite must therefore have completed school, passed an examination, and reached the standard of his profession or trade. The standard of schools can, thanks to the general level of education, be gradually raised, at least above the lower classes of the middle schools.

Each individual wishing to serve in the government then registers for the state examination, which, somewhat in the manner of present civil service examinations, emphasizes the following subjects: Chinese history and geography, world history and modern history, rudiments of politics and law. Only after he has passed this examination is he considered a candidate.

He must have a steady occupation with a corresponding income, belong to his trade or professional association, and be elected by them.

Only those who have proved their ability by these three conditions are to be accorded the right to elect or be elected, to propose, vote, or depose. They may become officials or members of parliament. One might perhaps consider the suggestion that a higher standard should be demanded of the elected than of the electors, and that the line of qualification for high officials and representatives should be drawn more sharply.

To sum up: it is quality that counts, not quantity; the fraction that passes through this selection may be small—there is no need for it to be large. The elite which has thus been formed is advised of all intentions with regard to new legislation, justice, and administration, and decides on these questions; in the same way they have full power to participate directly or indirectly in the government of the country. This would represent the ideal form of a minority government and at the same time the ideal form of a majority government, in so far as the minority represents in its final aims the ideas of the majority. Compared with the condition where the masses have their say in the construction of a building, this seems a far better solution. The same can be said in comparison with any kind of minority government based on a class such as the aristocracy, labor, plutocrats, tramps, etc. If, with the help of the two new principles of an occupational and parliamentary legislative set up by the new democracy, the system of voting, that of the people's

representation, and of parliament are basically changed, then the democratic *spirit* will be conserved while the defects of the present *system* will be thoroughly eradicated. Hence the questions of minority or majority government, of the Far Eastern idea of "people as basis" and the Western idea of "government by the people," of economic socialism and political democracy, must, with regard to a future New World Order, be approached from this angle. Only then can we start to build up, and to speak of human progress. Then the sacrifices made during the last few decades by nations and states in their revolutionary struggles will find their reward.

In turning against the harm caused by Western influence I am not overlooking the fact that there are improvements to be effected in our Chinese traditions as well.

THE FAMILY

Social ideas of the Chinese people differ from those of the West mainly in that the family is the center of gravity in the entire social system. The achievements and manifestations of Chinese culture irrefutably prove this. I should like to go even further and assert that the reasons for China's cultural stagnation are to be found in this. On one hand the spirit of independent development of the individual is destroyed by the ties within the family. On the other hand the strength required for the common struggle for country and nation is sapped by the aspirations of the family for its own gain. A philosophy directed toward the family as a center has caused the rise of a civilization based upon a society organized in clans which has existed unshaken for five thousand years. Of course there have been periods in between of true union or individual isolation—a natural reaction. It could have gone on like this indefinitely. When, however, contact took place one day with the foreign powers and this civilization saw itself pushed into the

arena of the universal struggle for existence, its impotence became apparent and it was no longer able to maintain itself.

Although the family system was developed very early in China it also showed deep-rooted defects. That which had formerly really given an impetus to the national development, today has become, on the contrary, a force to hinder national progress, a fact greatly to be deplored. I believe, however, that this role of the family was neither unavoidable nor ever intended by the great sages of China. It is by no means conclusive to say that the family alone is the decisive factor in China's social thought. For there has always been also an individualistic trend in this social thought, represented by the Taoist school; what Lao-tzu, Chuang-tzu, and Yang Chu taught is individualism. Then there was a national trend, represented by the school of law: Han Fei-tzu and Shang Yang taught the principle of a powerful state. Further there was a universalistic school, represented by Mo-tzu (Mo Ti) with his teaching of all-embracing love.

Confucius and Mencius embody the perfection of all ages and are the real ancestors of the tradition of the holy teachings. For them the structure of the family is nothing but a means for ruling the country. Hence the sayings: "Filial duty must be subordinated to loyalty"; or "Seek faithful subjects in houses where there are pious sons." Thus state and nation are made the center of the social structure. One can therefore say that Confucius and Mencius, who are considered to be the main representatives of Chinese history and culture, do not by any means make only the family the central point in their social thought.

THE FAMILY— ONLY PART OF THE PICTURE

From the very beginning the saints and sages of China have realized that the relations of the individual to so-

ciety are extremely manifold, so that far-reaching differences are to be found in the methods of correlating rights and duties. Without father and mother the individual cannot exist; in his childhood he is brought up with his brothers and sisters, as an adult he lives in the state of matrimony. Therefore every human being has relations simultaneously with parents, brothers and sisters, and husband or wife, which result in corresponding rights and duties. The multitude of families results in the state. What father and son, brother and sister, husband and wife are in the family, the population is in the state. From these relations the rights and duties toward the state emerge. Now there is not only one state in the world. The different states and their people cannot exist without relations amongst each other. From this again new rights and duties arise. So we see that man has duties toward himself, his family, the state, and the world. If the duties and rights resulting from these different relations did not come into conflict, and could all be fulfilled or considered equally, everything would be ideal. As this, however, is not the case, as the important must be adjusted to the unimportant, the urgent to the less urgent, one often has to decide which is to take precedence, which duty is the greater. What, then, is the standard to which we should conform?

THE TRUE PLACE OF THE FAMILY

I suggest the two old Chinese concepts of "extension" (*t'ui 推*) and "subordination" (*yi 易*) as a rule of conduct. What does "extension" mean? It means that one is to extend all that one is in one's essence in an exemplary way to others. One should extend one's age or youth to others, extend one's respect for father and mother to ruler and state, one's love for one's children to the people, one's love for brothers and sisters to all men. One should extend one's own being to the family, from the family

to the state, from the state to the world; in striving from what is near to what is far, one will approach the far; in striving from what is familiar toward what is strange, the strange will become familiar. Although there may be distinctions, none is overlooked, the whole world is one family, and within the four oceans all men are brothers. Thus one can truly say that one may take the family as a central starting-point, but that one may not limit oneself to the family.

What is meant by "subordination"? Its meaning is expressed in the saying quoted above—"Filial duty must be subordinated to loyalty." If both cannot be fulfilled simultaneously, filial duty must give way to patriotic duty. This means no less than giving up one's duty toward the family in order to fulfill one's duty towards the state, and demonstrates the principle of giving up the small for the sake of the big, of subordinating the few to the many, of sacrificing the little ego in order to maintain and protect a greater ego. If personal interests clash with family interests, then the individual must be subordinated to the family; if family interests clash with the interests of the state, then the family must be passed over for the sake of the state. If the interests of one state conflict with those of the whole world, then this state must be done away with for the sake of all mankind. Therefore he who thinks in terms of the community forgets his own ego; and he who thinks in terms of the state forgets the family. This means that it is no longer the family but the nation which occupies the central point.

If this is clear, we realize that the Chinese system of clans does not necessarily hinder social development, and that Chinese social thought does not have the family alone as a central point. Even supposing China's social thought to have the family as its central point, then that philosophy in which state, nation, and world form the central point could be easily blended with it if one applies the two

concepts of "extension" and "subordination." We can go even further: in Chinese ethics the principle of the individual has always been maintained and the individual considered the basic unit of society. Hence in the eight parts of the *Ta-hsüeh*, proceeding from the individual, two progressions are drawn up,—“Heart, Thought, Knowledge” directed inward, and “Family, State, World” directed outward. One should therefore speak not of the family but of the individual as the center of Chinese social thought.

THE BIG FOUR

The world of today contains four great “power groups” which oppose each other in direct contrast. The seeds of these four groups were sown at the end of the Great War. By the beginning of the present war they had taken root, and by now they have reached the final stage of development.

One is the British-American group, the stronghold of imperialism and capitalism, whose efforts are directed towards the maintenance of the old order. One is the German-Italian group, the chief exponents of Fascism and National-Socialism; their goal is the establishment of a new order. The Soviet Union forms another group, the camp of the Communist Third International. Finally there is the Far Eastern group, the combination of the yellow races in their struggle for existence. Its battle cry is “Liberation of all Asiatic peoples, independence for all Asiatic states.”

China today can no more form its own power group than it could isolate itself from the existing ones. Which group will it have to join, with due

regard to the place accorded to it by history, geographical position, race, culture, etc.? Has this not already been decided?

FUTURE AIMS

Where are the goals for China's future to be found? We can name the three most important ones. The first step must be the winning of China's independence and freedom. We must cast off white imperialism and capitalism, throw off the chains of a semi-colonial existence, return from slavery to the place of the master. Outwardly we must demand equal rights with all other nations and states of the world, inwardly equality with the nations and states of our own power group.

The second step must be the uniting of the nations and states within their own power group on a basis of mutual assistance and goodwill, co-operation in politics and economics, alliances of a diplomatic and military nature, and contacts between the related cultures. The individuals within the group must share joy and sorrow like brothers and sisters and must form a unit like body and limbs.

The third step should be to induce the whole world to overcome the age of material and cultural despotism. All mankind should put into practice the Taoist teaching of peace and harmony, awaken to the Buddhist idea of compassion and redemption, and carry out the Confucian theory that the whole world is one family and all men within the four oceans are brothers. The responsibility we Chinese must take upon ourselves in this regard is heavier than that of the other nations within our own group.